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"to" occurs instead of "and"; on page 51, line 6, "lest" instead of "if perchance"; on page 65, line 3, "eight" instead of "ten." Perhaps, also, it would be better to transliterate "Marabalas" rather than to render it by "Maroones." On page 68, line 2, of the Arabic text "yay" occurs instead of "bay," and on page 58, line 22, "wau" instead of "ray." On page 6, line 9, read "in much fear and great trembling." Besides, we judge it would be better in all cases to render ma'mudiya by "baptismal water" rather than by "font."

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THE YEMEN HAGGADAH.*

Jewish history and literature has its surprises and startling discoveries also. Arabia is opening up her long-hidden treasures to cast new light on the history of the medieval synagogue, the liturgy and the Midrashic literature of the Jews in countries somewhat remote from the track of European civilization. The learned world is anxiously waiting for the long-promised publication by Mr. Schechter of the great Midrashic compilation *Midrash Ha-Gadol*, which, with all its characteristics of a late African or Arabian origin, bids fair to exhibit many an ancient Haggadah in a new light, or in a more complete form. Dr. Gaster and Neubauer have given us many specimens of the Yemen liturgy which show that between the Spanish and the German rituals there existed at least one other branch of synagogal tradition which, being organically connected with both, points back to an older process of differentiation and growth. Both the prayer-books (Siddurim) and the Midrashic works that are stored up in the British and Oxford Museums, or still wait for the happy explorer, give proof to the remarkable fact that Arabian Judaism grew in the course of time to be as truly Arabic in language and character as Spanish Judaism was peculiarly Spanish, and German Judaism German. While emigrating from the Babylonian provinces in the ninth or tenth century, the Jews retained their Aramean language until the Arabic became their vernacular, and then they used translations both of the Bible and of the Prayer-book for their devotional purposes. It is in this manner that the Passover Haggadah sprang up which we have here before us—a strange mixture of Hebrew Aramean and (vulgar) Arabic, and highly interesting to the student.

The editor is a pupil of Dr. Gaster, who familiarized him with the chief literature on the subject and induced him to publish the work. The most valuable part of the book, therefore, is the Introduction, which affords a fair insight into the character of the Yemen ritual and the influence exercised by the authority of Maimonides on the Jews of Africa and Arabia, and furnishes a large amount of information about those

* THE HAGGADAH ACCORDING TO THE RITE OF YEMEN, together with an Arabic-Hebrew Commentary. Published for the first time from MSS. of Yemen, with Introduction, Translation, and Critical and Philological Notes by William H. Greenburg. London: David Nutt, 1896. xxvi+56+80 pp. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

liturgical manuscripts the very existence of which is known to but the few elect. It seems that all the great liturgical works of the Jews known by the name of *Siddur* ("Order of Prayers") or *Mahazor* ("Cycle"), comprising the prayers and devotional exercises for the whole year, formed the principal sources of Jewish knowledge as well as guides for religious conduct. What the Talmudical literature was for the scholar, the *Siddur* or Religious Almanach with its varied contents was for the larger class of Jews. Translations and interpretations of the devotional readings in the vernacular were in order, and while they were copied for private use, the annotations increased. Marginal notes were put into the text and again commented upon. Of this our Passover Haggadah forms a part. The editor describes on pp. xxiii-xxvi the various manuscripts written in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, two in possession of Dr. Gaster, seven in the British and three in the Oxford Museum. His edition is based upon Codex Gaster No. 4 as being the most complete copy. We can form an idea of the contents of this Prayer-book when we are told that it comprises besides the daily *Siddur* (which begins with the night's prayers) and the *Mahazor* with the *Piyyutim* and *Selihoth*, also the *Megillath Bne Hasmonai* (published by Gaster in the *Trans. of the IXth Intern. Congress of Orientalists*, II., p. 17 sq.), the Mishna of *Rosh Hashshana*, *Yoma*, *Betza* and *Sukkah*, Ibn Ezra's *Seder Abodah* (for the Day of Atonement), Yehuda Hallevi's *Kinnoth* for the Ninth of Ab, a Calendar in Arabic and Hebrew, and finally laws and formulas of marriage, divorce and other legal documents in Aramaic.

Mr. Greenburg has certainly merited our thanks by editing and translating the work for which the title *Passover Haggadah* or *Haggadah Shel Pesach* would have been preferable, as the name of Haggadah is as a rule applied to the entire *Midrashic* or homiletic literature of the Jews. The division into seventy-two chapters has been made by the editor, but does not always strike us as very happy. Nor is the translation always exact and scholarly. The translator has a fair knowledge of the vulgar Arabic, but often missed the meaning of the interpretation based on arithmetical and mystical modes of exegesis. In fact, the Arabic and the Hebrew are often so intermixed in the text that we had better call it an Arabic-Jewish jargon for which the translator must occasionally do some guessing in order to arrive at the true meaning, whereas Mr. Greenburg's translation offers, now and then, words without sense. In chapter 6, for instance, the hallowing of the festivals with a blessing recited over the wine (*Kiddush*) gives the author an opportunity for commenting on each festival in the following way: "Regarding the Festival of the Unleavened Bread, the sages have said (see *Mechilta* and Targum Jonathan to Exodus 12:39)—(Why, by the way, did Mr. Greenburg never take the trouble to look up the rabbinical passages referred to in our treatise? In doing so, he would have essentially helped the reader as well as himself towards a better understanding of the text!)—that the dough the Israelites carried on their shoulder unfermented was blessed,

and served them as bread for thirty days until the fifteenth of Iyar when the manna first fell which belongs to those miraculous things that were created during the twilight of creation's last day (see Mishna *Aboth*, "Early Sayings of the Fathers," V., 9) and remained in readiness for Israel until its due time arrived to appear." Strange that Mr. Greenburg did not understand this sentence, clear to anyone familiar with Jewish literature. But we note blunders worse than this. The treatise proceeds as follows: "The *Festival of the Weeks* is the one on which they heard the Ten Words, for they had continually counted the days and the weeks, as it is commanded in the Law that their reckoning should be exactly as Moses reckoned; for God had told him: 'This shall be a sign לך that I have sent thee: When thou shalt have brought out the people from Egypt, ye shall serve God on this mountain.' The numerical value of לך is = fifty. The Holy One, blessed be He, informed Moses that after fifty days counted from the going out from Egypt they would hear the Ten Words and receive the Law." Mr. Greenburg in translating לך "unto thee" missed the whole point. On the *Feast of Tabernacles* "we remember the cloud of the Divine Presence which surrounded them, as the verse Lev. 23:43 is explained in the Targum." נדרכר is to be taken in the Hebrew, not in the Arabic sense: "we make mention of," as our translator does against the actual fact in the case.

The commentator proceeds: "As to *New Year's Day*, it is the day on which the first man was created **שבו נברא אדם הראשון**—and on which the world was first conceived of." Compare the expression **הרת עולם**. This is the meaning of the Arabic **وافتقار אל عالم = והעולם**. **נחפקדה בו**. Mr. Greenburg translates: on which the first man was created, and the time when the world was not created (lit. was missing). Here, too, Rosh Hashshana 27a, Pesiktha 23, etc., are referred to. See also Abudraham to **היום הרת עולם**. "The *Day of Atonement* is a time of expiation for Israel when they resemble the ministering angels, neither eat nor drink nor perform any of the vital functions, but occupy themselves only with prayer and the Torah." Here again our translator blunders in the rendering of the Arabic **וגמיע אל שרוט**: "they fulfill all the conditions required of angels." The writer obviously refers to the prohibited bathing and ointing and sexual intercourse.

A similar blunder we notice on p. 14 of the translation in ch. 14, where the translator failed to see that the writer, after having explained the meaning of **הקים** and **משפטים**, dwells on the meaning of those commandments called **עדות**. Also in ch. 21, p. 22, the translator missed the main point: The author wishes to explain the contrast implied in the likening of Israel to the stars of heaven and the dust of the earth. They are excellent as the stars of heaven in number and perfection in so far as they represent a powerful body of men, although there are many among them reminding by their corruption of the dust of the earth.

On p. 48, ch. 61, we notice another oversight: The Psalmist's verse, **כפירים רשו ורעבו** (Ps. 34:11), recited at the close of the grace after

meal, is explained in our treatise as referring to the wicked, the word כפירים being taken as an epithet of the wicked ones, and so the first half of the verse is explained as a curse for the evil-doers and the second half as a blessing for the pious ones.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, pardonable in a beginner, as Mr. Greenburg seems to be, we read the book from beginning to end with a great deal of interest, and hope that he will continue in a field that promises a rich harvest to the toiler.

In tracing the history of the Passover Haggadah, the editor consulted only Zunz and not Landshuth, whose introductory notes to his edition of the Haggada elucidate many points better than Zunz did. The latter was inclined to ascribe a later origin to certain parts, claiming that expressions like ברוך המקום and לא ולמד, found also in *Tanna di be Eliyahu*, belong to the post-Talmudic period, while Landshuth shows that they are Mishnic (as, in fact, the work *Tanna di be Eliyahu* belongs also to the Talmudic period). Zunz admits that the Passover Haggadah was already known in its main form to the compilers of the oldest Midrash *Mechilta* and *Pesiktha*, and we may go further and maintain that, since the oldest authorities of the Mishnah refer to it as a fixed liturgy, its origin must be sought in those ancient Chasidean circles long before the Christian era, where the symposia, or love-meals, הבורות formed the center of study and religious devotion, and the sacred songs and recitations at night were continued until the dawn of day summoned them to prayer again. The Therapeutic vigils described by Philo, and the Song of the Red Sea in the early morning prayer at the close of the Psalm recitation, and again the reference to Moses' Song after the Shmâ in the synagogue ritual, afford evidence of the prominence given in ancient times to the Passover story. The Law in Ex. 13:8 commanded the "Haggadah" or the "relating" of it to the various classes of children or pupils: the wise and the simple, the ungodly and the boor. הָכֶם וְתָם, רָשָׁע וְשֹׂאֵנִי יוֹדֵעַ לְשֹׂאֵל. This very classification of hearers shows that the original "Haggadah" recitation or teaching was not intended simply for the father of the family but for younger companions who were to listen to the Halachic and homiletic interpretations of the Passover law and story. What the Therapeutic Passover Haggadah looked like in the century preceding the Christian era, can be learned from the last seven chapters of the Book of Wisdom (which is nothing but a fragment compiled with two or three other Therapeutic, or Essene, fragments, as I have shown elsewhere). The leading idea of the Passover Haggadah there and in our traditional liturgy is that the punishment of the Egyptians was meted out by Divine justice after the principle of מדה כנגד מדה "measure for measure." Special attention may be called in this connection to the Samaritan Pesach Haggadah (see Dr. S. Kohn, *Zur Sprache, Literatur u. Dogmatik der Samaritaner*, Leipzig [Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes], 1876), which, by the many analogies it presents to the one in use among the Rabbinical Jews, also

points back to an ancient Chasidean, or pre-Maccabean, origin. Surely, the sublime prayer *Nishmath*, called in the Mishnah *Pesachim*, X. (p. 117*b*) **ברכת השיר** "the Closing Benediction of the Song" attributed to Simon Kaipha (St. Peter) or Simeon ben Shatah, the Pharisean Chief under Queen Alexandria Salome, is an old Chasidean production, originally intended to close the devotional songs and Psalm recitations of each vigil right before the early morning.

Only when the Haggadah liturgy was transferred from the Chasidean circles to the family, the order in which we have it was introduced, while at the same time ancient, unintelligible formulas were retained. Such a one is the very first paragraph, commencing in Aramaic: "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers ate in Egypt. Whosoever is hungry let him come and eat, and whosoever is in need let him come and partake of our Passover feast! This year we are here, next year we shall be in Jerusalem; this year we are in servitude, next year we shall be free." This summons to the needy who happen to pass by to partake of the bread and the festal meal (wine?) can only have issued forth from a company prepared to receive strangers and gathered in a conspicuous place. Behind the closed doors of a simple household these words have no sense.

And here a word must be said concerning the remarkable formula which only the Byzantine and the Yemen Haggadah have in common with the Maimonidean Code, viz., the words preceding the **הא להמא עניא**, just quoted, which read: **בבהילו יצאנו ממצרים** "In haste (compare Targum to Ex. 12:11; Deut. 16:3 = **בהפזון**) have we gone out of Egypt." Was this sentence recited by the men, before they sat down for the festive gathering while they imitated their fathers carrying the bread on their shoulder and walking around *in haste*, as the pious Jews of the last century still used to do? I believe so. Compare *Mechilta* and Targum Jonathan's notes to the word **הפזון** = "haste," showing that there was mysticism connected with the rite!

It would lead too far into detail, were I to follow up closely all the differences our Yemen text and commentary presents compared with the German, Spanish and Eastern ritual. I shall confine myself to a few observations concerning our Yemen Haggadah. It is, as has been pointed out sufficiently by the editor, chiefly based on Maimonides, who is simply quoted in the commentary as "Our Master" **רבינו**. The Hebrew benedictions—**קידוש**—and the second—**אשר גאלנו**—recited over the first and the second cup of wine, contain additional parts composed in pure Hebrew and genuine poetry—parallelism without rhyme—but these are late productions.

The Hallel is divided into 123 verses or semi-verses to correspond with the 123 years of Aaron! It is especially marked for responsive recitations, as the whole liturgy probably was originally to be recited. (See *Pesachim*, 118*a*; *Sukkah*, 38*a*.)

The commentary to the text shows traces of various periods and different traditions. Alongside of the four cups of wine mentioned in the Mishnah, and declared as biblical in the Jerusalemic Talmud and Mid-

rash, the Gaonic times mention occasionally the custom of drinking five cups, and both customs find their mystic explanations in our commentary, chs. 7 and 8. In fact, the Yemen scholars seem to have had especial predilection for the mystic use of numbers and letters, and it is now the Arabic and then the Hebrew supercommentator who accentuates these things. So are the letters of the word **בבהילי** in ch. 10; so the number four of the four sons, ch. 14, or the letters of the word **אפיקומן** (ch. 16), the 210 years of Egyptian servitude (chs. 18 and 22), the names of **מלאך** and **שרה** (ch. 24) and the thirty lines of Moses' Song corresponding to the three decades of the heavenly spheres (ch. 48) and the like mystically explained. A mystic puzzle is **נפץ** = **עקב** (ch. 17). Occasionally, however, we come across ancient Haggadahs of real value. So, for instance, we are told that there were sacrifices brought within the thrice immured town of Bethar, according to a treatise written by "our master" (Maimonides?) on the Judges in the war of Bar Cochba! or that *Hulda* became a prophetess by constant hiding in the halls of learning (like a "weasel"?!), ch. 17; or that a granddaughter of Metusalah had, while treading upon the mortar in place of her sick husband, trampled her own children to death, and her cry to God in her great despair brought about the end of the Hebrew servitude in Egypt (ch. 25), a story which I cannot recall having read anywhere else.

There are undoubtedly many such Haggadahs contained in many a Yemen manuscript still inaccessible to the student. And it is here that one seemingly insignificant discovery may throw light upon the whole literature.

It is superfluous to say that **אֶסְטִגְנִין** is not = *στéγανος*, but, according to the simple phonetic rule which dissolves the *n* in *r* and *l*, = *ἀστρολόγος*. As to **אפיקומן** it is *ἐπίκωμον* "after-meal" or dessert (see Jastrow's dictionary). The philological notes of our editor are of no great value. *Sutor, ne ultra crepidam!* Let him adhere to his Arabic studies and unearth for us a hidden world of Hebrew lore, and he will earn our thanks.

K. KOHLER.

NEW YORK, December 16, 1896.